

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01
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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2167
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0273

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR: INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES OF
MAY 31, 1977

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THE MAY 31, 1977 INFORMAL SESSION OF THE
VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE NETHERLANDS
REP, UK REP AND THE US REP, AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS
TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, POLISH REP DABROWA AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP
MEISNER. MILITARY ADVISORS ALSO PARTICIPATED.

2. IN THE SESSION, EASTERN REPS ATTACKED THE COLLECTIVE
NATURE OF THE WESTERN POSITION ON MANPOWER CEILINGS. THEY
CRITICIZED THE WESTERN POSITION ON ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS, CLAIMING
THE WEST WISHED TO REDUCE AND LIMIT ONLY CERTAIN AMERICAN
NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS, WHILE REFUSING TO REDUCE OR LIMIT THE ARMAMENTS

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OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND WHILE DEMANDING THE
WITHDRAWAL AND LIMITATION OF ALL ARMAMENTS OF A SOVIET TANK
ARMY. THEY CRITICIZED THE WESTERN RELUCTANCE TO GIVE A POSITIVE
RESPONSE TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO TABLE NATIONAL TOTALS,
CLAIMING THIS WAS THE SIMPLEST AND MOST DIRECT METHOD OF FINDING
THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN
DATA ON WARSAW PACT FORCES. THEY DESCRIBED PERSONNEL EXCLUDED

FROM THE EASTERN COUNT OF WARSAW PACT FORCES, ANSWERED SOME SPECIFIC WESTERN QUESTIONS ON EASTERN DATA AND ASKED FURTHER QUESTIONS ON WESTERN DATA.

3. WESTERN REPS REFUTED GDR REP'S CLAIM AT MAY 24 INFORMAL SESSION THAT THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH WOULD RESULT IN THE NUMERICAL INFERIORITY OF THE EAST IN MILITARY MANPOWER. THEY DESCRIBED INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN THE PAST EASTERN ACTIONS

AND PRESENT EASTERN DATA CLAIMS, STATING THAT EASTERN REPS HAD GIVEN NO ADEQUATE EXPLANATION OF THESE INCONSISTENCIES. THEY REPLIED TO EASTERN QUESTIONS ON WEST'S DATA FROM MAY 24 SESSION AND ASKED FURTHER QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN DATA.

4. CZECHOSLOVAK REP OPENED THE SESSION WITH AN ATTACK ON THE COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE. HE SAID EAST REJECTED THIS PRINCIPLE BECAUSE: (1) IT WAS TIED TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS; (2) IT COULD RESULT IN INCREASES IN THE FORCES OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS, WHO ALREADY HAD THE LARGEST PART OF THE WESTERN FORCES IN THE AREA; (3) UNDER THE EASTERN NATIONAL CEILINGS APPROACH, UNLIKE THE COLLECTIVE WESTERN APPROACH, THE USSR COULD NOT INCREASE ITS FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA; (4) WESTERN REJECTION OF NATIONAL CEILINGS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY WOULD INTERFERE WITH NATO'S INTEGRATED DEFENSE WAS INCONSISTENT WITH THE WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT THE US ACCEPT A SUBCEILING; AND (5) THE WESTERN WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT A SUBCEILING ON US FORCES WAS ONLY A COVER FOR THE REAL WESTERN MOTIVATION OF OBTAINING A SUBCEILING ON SOVIET FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

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5. THE UK REP REJECTED THE EASTERN ALLEGATION THAT THE WEST WAS DEMANDING REDUCTIONS WHICH WOULD RESULT IN A LOWER RESIDUAL LEVEL FOR EASTERN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER THAN FOR THE WEST. THE WEST WANTED GENUINE PARITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER AND THE SIZE OF THE REDUCTIONS HAD TO BE CALCULATED ACCORDING TO THE REAL FACTS OF THE SITUATION. UK REP ATTACKED THE EASTERN CONCEPT OF HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES. VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT DIFFERED. THE PRACTICAL WAY TO MOVE AHEAD WAS TO FOCUS ON SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES. THIS HAD BEEN DONE IN THE WESTERN APPROACH.

6. POLISH REP CRITICIZED THE WESTERN APPROACH TO ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS. HE SAID THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WAS A ONE-TIME PROPOSAL COVERING ONLY A PORTION OF THE ARMAMENTS OF ONE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT. ALL REMAINING WESTERN ARMAMENTS WERE EXCLUDED FROM REDUCTION OR LIMITATION. HE SPECIFIED THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL FOR STAGE I ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS COVERED THE REDUCTION OF TANKS, AND MAIN NUCLEAR DELIVERY MEANS, SUCH AS

NUCLEAR CAPABLE AIRCRAFT AND OPERATIONAL TACTICAL MISSILE LAUNCHERS, TOGETHER WITH A DEFINITE NUMBER OF THEIR NUCLEAR WARHEADS, AS WELL AS SURFACE TO AIR MISSILES. HE NAMED NO OTHER ARMAMENTS. HE SAID THE WESTERN APPROACH TO ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS WAS ASYMMETRICAL IN THAT THE WEST WANTED THE EAST TO WITHDRAW AN ENTIRE SOVIET TANK ARMY WITH ALL ITS PERSONNEL AND ARMAMENTS. THE EAST WAS EXPECTED TO LIMIT THE RESIDUAL LEVELS OF THESE ARMAMENTS THROUGHOUT SOVIET FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. IN RETURN, THE WEST PROPOSED TO TAKE OUT ONLY 29,000 US SOLDIERS AS INDIVIDUALS PLUS SOME NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS, LEAVING UNTOUCHED REMAINING US ARMAMENTS AND ALL ARMAMENTS AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE WESTERN EUROPEANS.

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FROM US REP MBFR

7. NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT THE CLEAR SIGNIFICANCE OF A SERIES OF PAST EASTERN ACTIONS WAS THAT, FOR MOST OF THE PERIOD OF THE VIENNA TALKS, EASTERN REPS HAD RECOGNIZED THAT THE EAST HAD SUPERIORITY OF MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA AND HAD ACTED ACCORDINGLY. EASTERN REPS WERE NOW ATTEMPTING TO TELL THE WEST THAT THE REAL MEANING OF ALL THESE STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS HAD ACTUALLY BEEN THAT THE MILITARY MANPOWER OF THE TWO SIDES IN THE AREA WAS APPROXIMATELY EQUAL. EASTERN REPS HAD NOT MADE A CONVINCING CASE. THIS IN TURN STRENGTHENED THE WEST'S DOUBTS

THAT THE EAST HAD COMPILED ITS FIGURES ON ITS OWN FORCES IN THE SAME WAY AS THE WEST.

8. TARASOV CLAIMED IT WAS A FACT THAT THE WEST WAS PROPOSING THAT THE EAST ACCEPT NUMERICAL INFERIORITY. THIS WAS SHOWN WHEN THE REDUCTIONS PROPOSED BY THE WEST FOR THE EAST ON THE BASIS OF WESTERN NUMERICAL DATA WERE SUBTRACTED FROM THE ACTUAL
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LEVEL OF EASTERN FORCES IN THE AREA. TARASOV SAID THE PRESENT TASK OF DATA DISCUSSION WAS TO FIND THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN DATA AND WESTERN ASSESSMENTS OF WARSAW PACT FORCES. THE EAST COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY WESTERN COUNTRIES STILL FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO GIVE A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO TABLE NATIONAL FIGURES. THIS PROPOSAL REPRESENTED A SIMPLE AND EFFECTIVE WAY TO CLARIFY THE DISCREPANCIES. DISCUSSION OF DATA WOULD BE WITHOUT DETRIMENT TO BASIC POSITIONS OF THE SIDES AND THE EAST WAS READY TO BEGIN WITH THE DISCUSSION OF US AND SOVIET FORCES. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO STATEMENTS OF WESTERN REPS, NATIONAL DATA ON WEST'S MILITARY MANPOWER WERE PUBLIC INFORMATION IN ANY EVENT. TARASOV GAVE REVIEW OF EASTERN POSITION ON EXCLUSIONS FROM EASTERN DATA AND REPLIED TO INDIVIDUAL WESTERN QUESTIONS.

9. US REP REPLIED TO EASTERN QUESTIONS RAISED IN MAY 24 SESSION AND ASKED FURTHER QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN DATA. UK REP TOOK ISSUE WITH TARASOV'S REMARKS THAT WEST WAS DELAYING DATA DISCUSSION AND TARASOV DEBATED THIS POINT. END SUMMARY. RESOR

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